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Chapter II

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

TERMINOLOGY[1]

THE Mandan have a Crow type of kinship system. Their terminology is illustrated in Figures 5–8 and in Table 2. By means of the extension of kinship terms employed for members of the biological family to clan and moiety affiliates, the entire tribal population was classified as relatives and was treated as such. In former times each village was politically independent except that the Nuptadi held certain tribal paraphernalia used during the Okipa, and the other villages looked to them for ceremonial assistance. Dialectic differences offered no handicap. The villages acted collectively when war threatened. Each village was divided into a series of matrilineal, exogamous, nontotemic clans grouped into moieties. Each clan was composed of one or more lineages which were closely associated with the lodge groups. In Mandan theory the lodge group was based on matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence and consisted of several families held together by females. Lodges, in theory, belonged to the females occupying the lodge and were a part of a property-holding complex consisting of the lodge, corn scaffold, storage pits, cooking utensils, bedding, dogs and harnesses, mares and colts (geldings and stallions belonged to the men), gardens, and gardening equipment.

The structure, function, interdependence, and interrelations of the various groups will be analyzed after the kinship has been analyzed. Where significant changes in the social structure occurred due to a change in population, both the older and the more recent system will be indicated.

1. An elaboration of the genealogical and schedule method was used after taking a census of the tribe by lodge units as of 1870. An attempt was made to get pertinent data about as many individuals and lodge groups as possible, and this was added to as the study of the ceremonial organization progressed. With the use of genealogical charts, attempt was made to determine the actual inheritance of bundles and rites as against native theory of inheritance.

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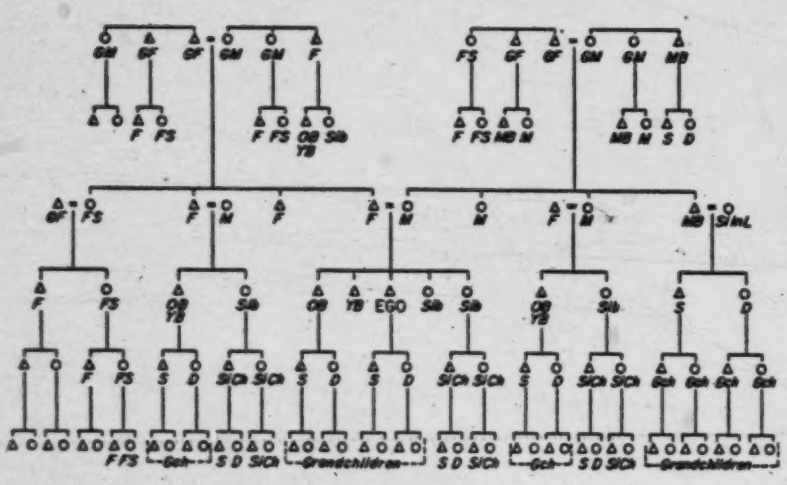
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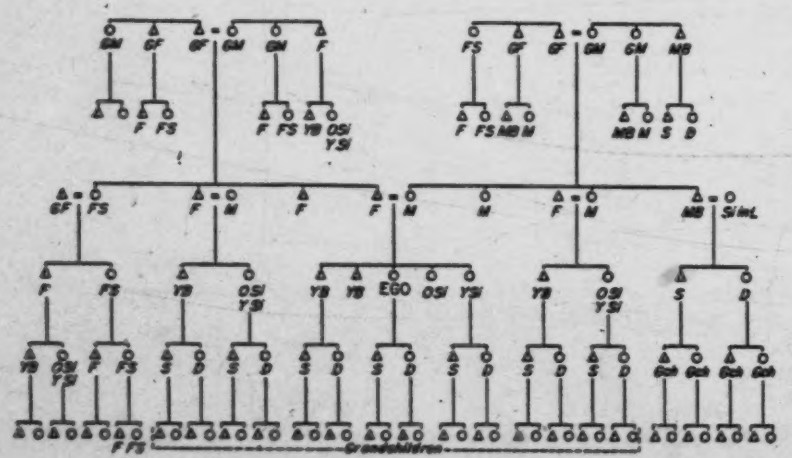
FIG. 5.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = male. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.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F FS Grandchildren

FIG. 6.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = female. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

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The classification of blood relatives is illustrated in Figures 5 and 6 (for the Mandan kinship terms refer to Table 2). The Mandan kinship system is of the "classificatory" type, since the father's brothers are classed with the father and the mother's sisters with the mother. In the grandparent's generation separate terms are used to designate grandfather and grandmother.

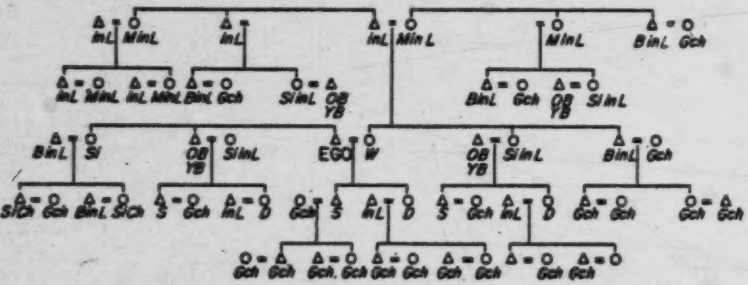

FIG. 7.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = male. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

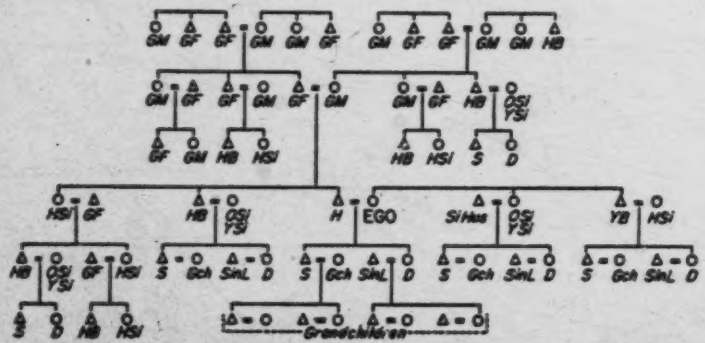

FIG. 8.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = female. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

Sisters of grandmothers are grandmothers and brothers of grandfathers are grandfathers. The paternal grandmother's brother is a "father," while the brother of the maternal grandmother is a "mother's brother." In the parental generation, the father's sister is designated by a special term *ptuminiks*, which is extended to include all her female descendants and all other females of her clan regardless of age if not occupying a position closer to the speaker; the husband of a father's sister is classified

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as a grandfather. There is a separate term for "mother's brother," and his wife is a sister-in-law. In ego's own generation siblings are distinguished according to age and sex. A male classifies his male siblings according to age and uses a single term for female siblings regardless of age. A female uses the same term for all male siblings that a male uses for younger male siblings. A female classifies her sisters according to age. Parallel

TABLE 2

MANDAN KINSHIP TERMS

na'E'	mother (M); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*mihu'rus* = my mother; *kohus'* = his mother; *kohu'nE* = her mother)
tatE'	father (F); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*tatE'Ens* = non-voc.)
mɋ'kas	older brother (OB); m.s.
mi'cɋ'ka	younger brother (YB); m.s.; all male siblings, w.s.
mirukE'	older sister (OSi) w.s. *konuk's* = her older sister
ptɋ'ka	younger sister (YSi) w.s. *kotɋ'ka* = her younger sister
ptami'hE	female sibling (Sib) m.s. *kotomi'hE* = his sister
naxis'	grandmother (GM) m.s., w.s.; voc.; *konu'xis* = his or her grandmother
tata'xis	grandfather (GF) m.s., w.s., voc.; *kota'xis* = his or her grandfather
miniks'	son (S) m.s., w.s., voc.; *minikE'* = my son; *koni'kE* = his or her son
mi'nuhɋ'kE	daughter (D) m.s., w.s.
ptawi'hɑkE	grandchild (Gch) m.s., w.s.
ptu'hakE	sister's child; also sister's daughter's child (SiCh) m.s.
mi'hE	wife (W). *ki'hE* = his wife
mi'woro	husband (H)
misikE'	husband's brother (HB)
mo'waki	wife's brother or sister's husband (B in L) m.s.
ptuts'	son-in-law or father-in-law; m.s.; (in Law) m.s. *no'hɑka* = son-in-law. w.s. m.s. non-voc.
ptus	husband's sister or brother's wife (HSi) w.s.
no'hɑkamis'	brother's wife (Si in L) m.s.
pta'wɑraio'dE	mother's brother (MB); m.s., w.s.
ptu'miniks	father's sister (FS); m.s., w.s.
ptu'hiniks	mother-in-law (M in L) non-voc. m.s.

cousins are treated as siblings; children of a "father's sister" are "fathers" and "father's sisters," while the children of a mother's brother are sons and daughters. In the children's generation a woman classifies her own sons with her sisters' and brothers' sons, and their daughters with her own daughters. A man classifies only his brothers' sons with his own sons and his daughters with his brothers' daughters, while classifying his sisters' children, both male and female, as "children of clan." In the grandchild generation, children of "sons" and "daughters" are "grandchildren"; sons of male "child of clan" are "sons"; daughters of

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a male "child of clan" are "daughters"; sons and daughters of female "child of clan" are "children of the clan." 601

The kinship system as noted above for the blood relatives is classified largely on a generation basis. The classification of the father's sister and her descendants completely disregards the generation principle, while the mother's mother's brother's children and the mother's brother's children who are classified as "sons" and "daughters" disregard the generation principle on the mother's side. The naming of these lineages relates them to lineages in other family lines and becomes the basis of an integration into clans.

Figures 9–12 illustrate the Mandan system by means of lineage charts whereby a vertical grouping of kin based on matrilineal descent occurs rather than a "horizonal" one based on bilateral descent. In ego's own lineage some differences occur; a female occupies a somewhat different position from a male, and the terms vary for a male ego and a female ego. Since the mother's mother's brother is considered by both a male and female as a "male of the clan," ego (male) classifies his sister's sons and daughters as well as his sister's daughter's sons and daughters as "children of the clan." 601 613

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," the latter term being used only for one's own known direct ascendants. All husbands of women of the father's lineage are grandfathers; all sons of "father's sisters" are fathers and their children are siblings. An examination of Figures 9–12 for the father's and the mother's father's lineage will show that they are of the same lineage.

For a male ego, his male relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as mother's brother, older or younger brother, and "child of the clan"; for a female they are mother's brother, younger brother, son, and grandchild. Since both male and female call the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother "brother of the mother's clan," a man calls his sister's children and his sister's daughter's children "children of the clan."

Men marrying females of male ego's generation or younger are brothers-in-law (male relatives-in-law), while a female marrying a man of male ego's age or older is "brother's wife," those younger being "grandchild." For a female ego, men

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marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male

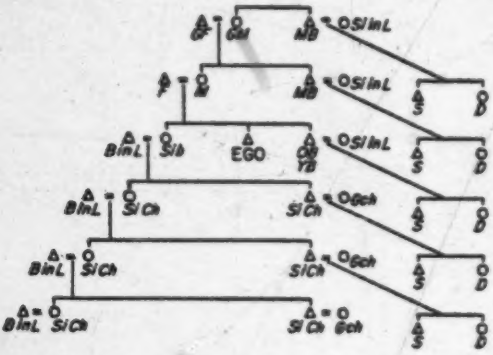

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male

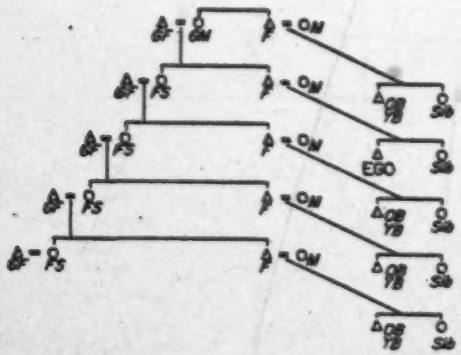

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

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pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

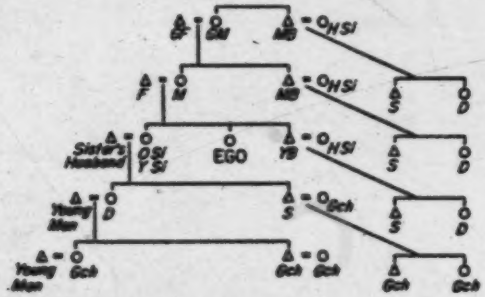

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

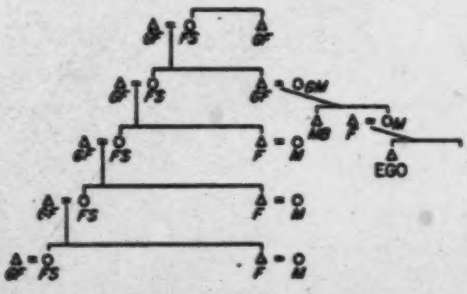

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 597 614

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602 608 597 614 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status, [616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 614 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

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In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

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affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother.

Father–daughter (*tatE'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father–son (*tatE'–miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines.

Husband–wife (*mi'woro–mų'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as

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593 *mų'he* and others speak of her as *kų'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
•[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 844 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 868 601 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaughter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she expected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 592 613 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

Father-in-law–daughter-in-law (*tata'xis–ptawi'haḳE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'haḳE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

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herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would.

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'haka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble.

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohaka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law (*mo'waki–mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5), it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection existed between them as between father and son.

Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-

[See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dressed as sister-in-law all her husband's sisters and those he called female "child of the clan" as well as the wives of all those she addressed as "brothers."

Brother-in-law–sister-in-law (*misikE'–no'hąkamis'*).—A woman addressed as brother-in-law all those males whom her husband addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "son of the clan."

A man addressed as sister-in-law all those females married to one whom he addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "male child of the clan."

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

Children were never disciplined and were always humored by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ō'rē' 'kūpa (nits) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterises the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II. 132, 642.
[2] Curtis, V. 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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601 [171] 177

through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tatɛ′ (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tatɛ′xihe, tatɛ′xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā′aṭs, tatɛ′ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā′txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà terité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nõ′atō′oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō′atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minikɛ′ (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū′minikse′ena.

naɛ′ (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā′xic, nā′xihɛ′ (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu′xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan. (a), 322–330.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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ō'mihū'ruc (non-voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

tàwaratōrɛ' (voc.). Mother's brother (see p. 12 and below). Non-voc. form: tà waratōsɛ' ena.

ptā'rumaks. Mother's brother (w. sp.).[1]

mū'ukā (voc., m. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, father's sister's son's son older than ego, father's brother's son older than ego, mother's sister's son older than ego. Non-voc. form: mū'ukasɛ' ena.

micų ka'. My younger brother (m. sp.), elder or younger brother (w. sp.); father's sister's son's son, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.

ptamihɛ' (m. sp.). Elder or younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, brother-in-law's wife.

mīrukɛ' (w. sp.). Elder sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

ptą'ka' (w. sp.). Younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

minikɛ' (voc.). Son (m. sp., w. sp.), brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son (w. sp.), mother's brother's son. Non-voc. form: mini'ks.

kunika' (voc.). Son, grandson.

minū'hakɛ' (voc.). Daughter, brother's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), mother's brother's daughter, sister's daughter (w. sp.). Non-voc. form: minū'haks.

ptū'haxka' (m. sp.). Sister's son, sister's daughter.

ptawį' haka. Grandchild, son's wife, grandson's wife.

màratō ka' (voc.). Husband, wife. Non-voc. form: mà ratōka'sɛ'na.

mī'morus (non-voc.). Husband. kō'worus, her husband.

nokā ka' (voc.). Wife, husband.[2]

mū'us (non-voc.). My wife, k'u'us; k'u'uhe, his wife.

ɛ' ecehak (voc.). Husband's brother.

nisi'kɛ. Husband's brother, kocu'ka, (probably) her husband's brother. This last may simply mean "his brother."

mō'wa 'kihɛ'. Wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.).

ptumɛ'. Brother's wife (w. sp.), husband's sister.

nō'hakamihą. Brother's wife.

mū' ubō'rakɛ (m. sp.). My brother's wife.

p't' ū'te, p 'tūts. Daughter's husband.

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[1] This word was given only by Calf-woman, who considered mū'uka as the corresponding male term.

[2] One informant gave māratōkā for husband, and nokākā for wife, the other reversed these interpretations, probably there are two words both designating the spouse regardless of sex.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokàs. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) *mā-sā-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratoré* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

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Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

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My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minikè* to male and *kunikà'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minikè* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[1] [Consult category 116, pp. 124 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

5: Lowie E-3 (1910-1913)1917
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use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *minik'* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants.

One of my words for husband, *mĕ' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *me-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ka* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mĕ' us* and *mu' uks'aks* (m. sp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kots'-he-a* for the father-*in*-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-he-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptuns'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p'i'ĕ'ic* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ka*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-ka* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mĕ' us'k ĭ ka'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (*m.* sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *us-us' ka-a* and *us-us-ka*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

Social Customs.

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On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest.

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *t'irusit*.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

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If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick: if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 000 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families.

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white.

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

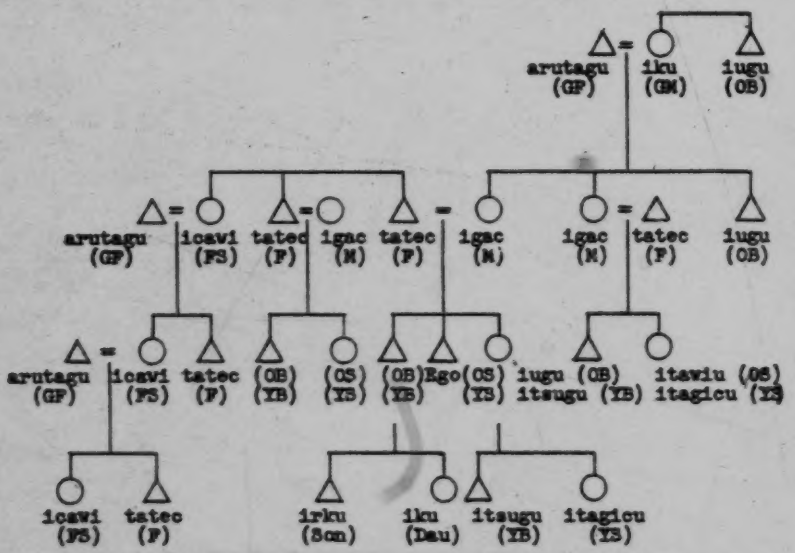
The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.).

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Although Lone Hill is composed of members of the Hidatsa and the Mandan tribes, the Hidatsa language has become standard in the village while the Mandan language is rapidly becoming extinct. This may have been due to the small percentage of Mandan-speaking people in Lone Hill when the community was formed. The Crow terminology is used in the Indian language in daily face-to-face contact among most of the people in the village. The meanings and applications of the terms have not changed. Bowers (1950:1) notes that "the kinship system has been affected little by recent events." Figure 1 is based upon observations of usage throughout the village and was



(Note—For a female ego, sister's children are son and daughter.)

FIG. 1

checked by formal schedules obtained from 14 individuals: 8 males ages 34 to 70, and 6 females ages 23 to 60.

In certain situations the people of Lone Hill make a direct linguistic translation of the Crow terminology from the Indian language into the English language. Classificatory fathers are called uncle, classificatory mothers and fathers' sisters are called aunt, while niece, nephew, and cousin terms are applied indiscriminately and usually incorrectly from the white point of view. There are no uncle, cousin, niece, or nephew terms in the Indian language. Figure 2 is offered as an illustration—note particularly the descendants from the father's sister. As the diagram shows, the generation principle does not apply.

This use of English is not a variation of the Crow system but is rather the same system with an alternate language. The English kinship terms do not

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village.

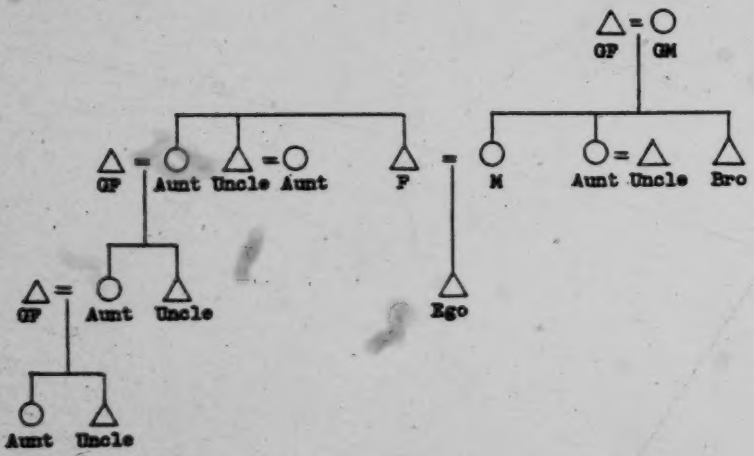


FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village.

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

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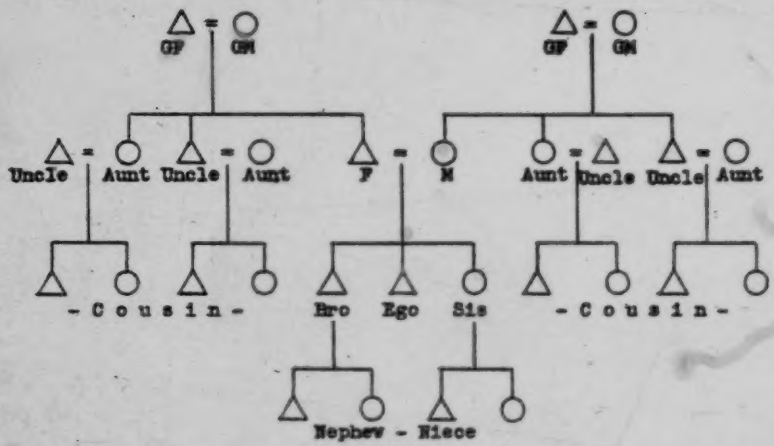

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system.

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To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage.

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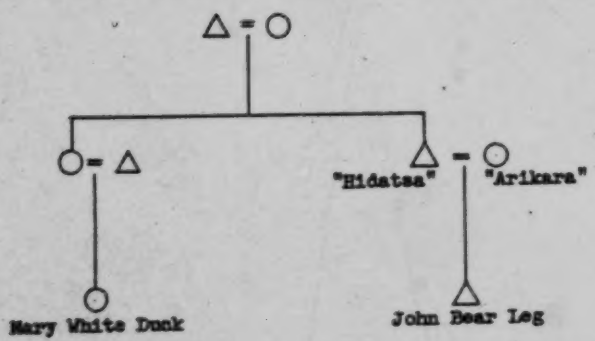

FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

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These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns.

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

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The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

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The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian."

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system.

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context.

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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Individual adjustment to alternate ways of structuring relationships is neither alien nor unique to the Mandan-Hidatsa (Firth 1930). Overlapping kinship ties tend to be characteristic of small societies with widely extended kinship systems. In addition to consanguineal and affinal relations, the Mandan-Hidatsa extended kinship to the clan, linked clan, moiety, ceremonial system and the supernatural world. As a result, almost every individual in the village was related to everyone else in more than one way. The closest relationship, as defined by the Mandan-Hidatsa, was usually taken in any given case, but factors unique to the individuals involved were also important (Bowers ms.). Today the people often discuss these dual ways of being related and they tend to regard the white way of reckoning kinship as one more way of being related, comparable to the alternate ways within the Indian system.

The following examples will illustrate how the adjustment takes place.

A young girl teased an unacculturated woman, after which the woman said to her, "You're supposed to be my *icawi* [father's sister] and you are not supposed to tease me, but that's O.K., we can take it the white way."

In referring to an acculturated girl, an older woman remarked, "She don't talk Indian. She is supposed to call me mother but she calls me auntie. I would be glad to hear it if she called me mother but she won't use it anymore. She's my daughter but she won't understand so I call her niece. All of that family acts like white kids."

An old woman of the village called a young converted Indian boy by the term "son." He realized that she could be either a mother or a father's sister to him in the Indian way but he did not know which. He came and asked me to find out from my genealogical charts because, as he said, "I can't figure it out and I want to act right with the old lady."

An acculturated woman refers to her mother's brother as an uncle and addresses him as uncle. He follows the traditional system, continuing to call her younger sister and considering himself as an older brother. Even though the terms are taken from two different systems, neither party seems to be especially disturbed. This is an unusual case and tends to occur only when there is no marked discrepancy in the external behavior.

Frank Bruce, who recently returned to the reservation, was related to William White Duck in two ways—their fathers were in the same clan, which required strong obligatory joking, and Frank was a "father" to William, which called for a father-son respect relationship. William had lived on the reservation all his life, understood both relationships, and quite properly, in terms of the traditional system, took the father-son blood relation rather than the clan tie. He talked politely to Frank and considered him a father, whom one never teased, although he never addressed him as father. Frank did not know that he was related to William either way and on one occasion teased him. William then said in public, "This old man of mine wants to take clans as the rule." Thereafter they teased each other on every possible occasion. All this was explained to Frank after it had taken place, as he had not understood that he had changed an existing relationship.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation.

Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

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The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the
175 formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing
177 machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

191 Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa
607 is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial
614 dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.